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Message Text

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ACTION ACDA-10

INFO OCT-01 ACDE-00 ISO-00 EB-07 SSO-00 NSCE-00 INRE-00

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FM USDEL MBFR VIENNA
TO SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE 1139
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AMEMBASSY BONN
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AMEMBASSY MOSCOW
USNMR SHAPE
USCINCEUR

S E C R E T MBFR VIENNA 0374

MBFR NEGOTIATIONS

FROM US REP MBFR

E.O. 11652: GDS
TAGS: PARM, NATO
SUBJECT: MBFR NEGOTIATIONS: JULY 17 AD HOC GROUP END-OF-ROUND REPORT TO NAC

1. THE AD HOC GROUP APPROVED AT ITS JULY 17 MEETING THE FOLLOWING TEXT OF THE AHG END-OF-ROUND REPORT TO NAC. THE REPORT WILL BE PRESENTED TO NAC JULY 18 BY US REP, ACCOMPANIED BY CANADIAN REP (GRANDE) AND DANISH REP (BELLING).

BEGIN TEXT:

AD HOC GROUP REPORT OF JULY 17, 1975
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1. THIS REPORT OF THE AD HOC GROUP ON THE VIENNA NEGOTIATIONS ON MUTUAL AND BALANCED FORCE REDUCTIONS ANALYSES THE COURSE OF THE VIENNA NEGOTIATIONS DURING THE PERIOD MAY 16 TO JULY 17, 1975 AND COMMENTS ON FUTURE PROSPECTS.

2. THE CONCLUSIONS SET FORTH IN THE AD HOC GROUP'S REPORTS TO NAC OF NOVEMBER 28, 1974 AND MAY 16, 1975 REMAIN VALID.

3. DURING THE SIXTH ROUND OF THE VIENNA NEGOTIATIONS, ALLIED REPRESENTATIVES CONTINUED TO STRESS THE WESTERN POSITION AND SOUGHT, AGAIN WITHOUT SUCCESS, TO ENGAGE THE EAST IN SERIOUS NEGOTIATION ON THE BASIS OF THE WESTERN PROPOSALS.

4. ALLIED REPRESENTATIVES CONTINUED TO PRESS THE EAST TO ENTER INTO AN EXCHANGE OF DATA, BUT EASTERN REPRESENTATIVES MAINTAINED THEIR REFUSAL TO DISCUSS DATA UNTIL AFTER MAJOR ISSUES OF PRINCIPLE REGARDING REDUCTIONS ARE RESOLVED. DURING THE SIXTH ROUND, THE WEST INTRODUCED A NEW PROPOSAL ON FLANK SECURITY. THIS PROPOSAL WAS PUT FORWARD IN THE WESTERN PLENARY STATEMENT ON JULY 17, PURSUANT TO THE COUNCIL GUIDANCE OF JULY 3.

5. FOR ITS PART, THE EAST CONTINUED TO INSIST ON THE MAJOR ELEMENTS OF ITS APPROACH. IN PARTICULAR, EASTERN REPRESENTATIVES CONTINUED TO INSIST THAT AIR FORCES AND ARMAMENTS, INCLUDING NUCLEAR WEAPONS SHOULD BE REDUCED. EASTERN REPRESENTATIVES CHARGED THAT THE WESTERN APPROACH LEFT OPEN THE POSSIBILITY OF A FUTURE ARMS RACE. THEY ALSO CHARGED THAT WESTERN PARTICIPANTS WERE CURRENTLY ENGAGED IN INCREASING THEIR ARMAMENTS IN THE AREA OF REDUCTIONS.

6. EASTERN REPRESENTATIVES ALSO CONTINUED TO INSIST THAT ALL DIRECT PARTICIPANTS SHOULD UNDERTAKE REDUCTION OBLIGATIONS FROM THE OUTSET. AS PART OF AN APPARENT EFFORT TO PROBE FOR WEAK SPOTS IN THE WESTERN POSITION, EASTERN REPRESENTATIVES ALSO PRESSED ALLIED REPRESENTATIVES ON THE QUESTION WHETHER, IN THE CONTEXT OF THE ALLIED REDUCTION PROGRAM, EACH OF THE NON-US WESTERN DIRECT PARTICIPANTS WOULD COMMIT ITSELF INDIVIDUALLY IN PHASE II AS TO THE AMOUNT OF ITS REDUCTIONS. THEY REJECTED ALLIED ANSWERS TO THIS QUESTION AS UNSATISFACTORY

AND CLAIMED THAT THESE ANSWERS REPRESENTED A BACKWARD STEP IN THE NEGOTIATIONS. (THIS PROBLEM IS DESCRIBED MORE FULLY IN THE SPECIAL AD HOC GROUP REPORT OF JUNE 16, 1975, WHICH REQUESTED GUIDANCE ON THIS TOPIC).

7. ONE NEW DEVELOPMENT IN THE EASTERN POSITION DURING THE SIXTH ROUND WAS EASTERN AGREEMENT TO DISCUSS A DEFINITION WHICH WOULD DISTINGUISH GROUND FORCES FROM AIR FORCES.

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8. SEVERAL INFORMAL SESSIONS WERE DEVOTED TO THIS TOPIC. STRESSING THE WESTERN VIEW THAT THE PURPOSE OF DEFINING GROUND FORCES WAS TO PROVIDE A BASIS FOR MOVING TO A DISCUSSION OF DATA, ALLIED REPRESENTATIVES EXPLAINED THEIR OWN DEFINITION, BASED ON THE CRITERION OF SERVICE UNIFORM. THEY STRESSED THAT THE WESTERN DEFINITION WAS COMPREHENSIVE, WHILE AT THE SAME TIME CLEARLY EXCLUDING ALL RESERVES AND CIVILIANS, AND THAT IT PROVIDED A CLEAR DIVIDING LINE BETWEEN GROUND AND AIR FORCES.

9. EASTERN REPRESENTATIVES RESPONDED THAT THE WESTERN DEFINITION BY SERVICE UNIFORM OMITTED REFERENCE TO ARMAMENTS AND DEALT UNFAIRLY WITH FORCE ANOMALIES IN THE AREA (E.G., POLISH AND CZECH GROUND-BASED AREA AIR DEFENSE PERSONNEL AND FRG PERSHING PERSONNEL). THEY PUT FORWARD AS AN ALTERNATIVE A DEFINITION OF GROUND AND AIR FORCES BASED ON AN ENUMERATION OF FUNCTIONAL TYPES OF FORCES.

10. EASTERN REPRESENTATIVES PROPOSED THAT ALL FORCES ON EACH SIDE WITH A SIMILAR FUNCTION BE PLACED IN THE SAME CATEGORY, EITHER GROUND OR AIR. SPECIFICALLY, EASTERN REPRESENTATIVES SUGGESTED THAT:

A. ALL TERRITORIAL AIR DEFENSE PERSONNEL WOULD BE ASSIGNED TO AIR FORCES. IT BECAME CLEAR FROM DISCUSSION THAT WHAT EASTERN REPRESENTATIVES HAD IN MIND IN THIS REGARD WOULD ENTAIL THE TRANSFER OF THE POLISH AND CZECHOSLOVAK GROUND-BASED TERRITORIAL AIR DEFENSE PERSONNEL (NATIONAL AIR DEFENSE COMMAND PERSONNEL) NOW INCLUDED IN NATO'S GROUND FORCE FIGURES FROM THE GROUND FORCES TO THE AIR FORCE. ALL OTHER AIR DEFENSE PERSONNEL WOULD REMAIN AS NATO HAS CATEGORIZED THEM.

B. ALL HELICOPTER PERSONNEL WOULD BE ASSIGNED TO THE
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GROUND FORCES, WITH POSSIBLY SOME MINOR EXCEPTIONS. EASTERN REPRESENTATIVES SAID THAT A POSSIBLE ALTERNATIVE WHICH COULD BE CONSIDERED WOULD BE TO ASSIGN ALL HELICOPTER PERSONNEL TO THE AIR FORCE.

C. ALL TACTICAL (SURFACE-TO-SURFACE) MISSILE PERSONNEL WOULD BE ASSIGNED TO THE GROUND FORCES. IT IS CLEAR THAT THE ONLY PRACTICAL EFFECT OF THIS POINT FOR NATO'S PRESENT CATEGORIZATION OF FORCES WOULD BE TO TRANSFER FRG PERSHING PERSONNEL FROM THE AIR FORCE TO GROUND FORCES.

11. PRELIMINARY EXAMINATION BASED ON PRESENT NATO DATA INDICATES THAT THE NET EFFECT ON FORCE TOTALS OF THE EASTERN FORCE CATEGORIZATION SUGGESTIONS JUST DESCRIBED WOULD BE TO REDUCE THE GROUND FORCE DISPARITY BY ABOUT 30,000 MEN

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AND TO CORRESPONDINGLY INCREASE THE AIR FORCE DISPARITY.

12. IN THE CONTEXT OF THIS DISCUSSION, EASTERN REPRESENTATIVES HAVE THUS FAR EVADED AN ANSWER TO THE WESTERN SUGGESTON THAT ANY DEFINITION MUST CLEARLY EXCLUDE ALL RESERVISTS AND CIVILIANS, STATING THAT THEY WOULD TAKE A POSITION ON THIS QUESTION ONLY WHEN WESTERN REPRESENTATIVES RESPONDED TO EASTERN SUGGESTIONS ON FORCE CATEGORIZATION.

13. SO LONG AS THE EAST CONTINUES TO REFUSE A DISCUSSION OF DATA, ITS MOVE ON DEFINITIONS WILL REMAIN OF LIMITED SIG-NIFICANCE. NEVERTHELESS, FOR THE PURPOSE OF IMPLEMENTING THE EXISTING ALLIED PROPOSALS, THERE WILL BE A NEED TO ESTABLISH THAT ONLY ACTIVE DUTY MILITARY PERSONNEL WOULD BE COVERED BY AN AGREEMENT AND TO DISTINGUISH BETWEEN GROUND FORCE AND AIR FORCE PERSONNEL. IN THE AD HOC GROUP'S VIEW, THEREFORE, THERE IS ADVANTAGE IN CONTINUING TO PRESS THE EAST TO ACCEPT THE ALLIED DEFINITION APPROACH, WHILE AT THE SAME TIME MAINTAINING THE WESTERN INSISTENCE ON THE IMPORTANCE OF DATA EXCHANGE.

14. THE ALLIED REPRESENTATIVES HAVE FULLY RESERVED THEIR POSITION REGARDING A POSSIBLE AGREED FORCE DEFINITION. IN PREPARATION FOR THE CONTINUATION OF THE DISCUSSION OF DEFINITIONS IN THE NEXT ROUND, IT WILL BE NECESSARY FOR NATO (A) TO DEVELOP A POSITION ON THE SPECIFIC FORCE CATEGORIZATION ANOMALIES RAISED

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BY THE EAST, AND (B) TO CONSIDER THE IMPLICATIONS OF ANY CHANGE IN THE PRESENT WESTERN POSITION ON FORCE CATEGORIZATION FOR THE POSSIBLE EXTENSION OF THE COMMON CEILING TO COVER AIR FORCE MANPOWER, WHICH IS CURRENTLY BEING STUDIED IN THE ALLIANCE.

15. IN SUM, NO PROGRESS TOWARD AN AGREEMENT ACCEPTABLE TO THE WEST WAS ACHIEVED DURING THE SIXTH ROUND. EASTERN REPRESENTATIVES CONTINUED TO MAINTAIN A WAITING ATTITUDE, APPARENTLY EXPECTING FURTHER WESTERN MOVES IN THE NEGOTIATIONS.RESOR

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